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The seasonal celebrations take place at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and probably mark the opening and closing of agricultural labor. They consist of festivals with dancing, singing and music. Several days in advance, hunting expeditions go in

- [226] search of small game, and they also go in for large fishing expeditions. In fact, fish seems to play a role of the first rank in the ritualistic activities. (1) Other Indians leave, sometimes for far-off places in

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1. See below, p. 109.

[824] order to find thick bamboo in the forests which border the rivers or which occupy the valleys, from which they cut pieces to make the flageolets for the ritual. These are about 70 centimeters long and pierced by four holes besides the one for blowing. An air passage is effected at the upper end in the mouthpiece of wax which closes the opening. They are only used upon occasion of these ceremonies and are played in unison in groups of three, one of them, engraved with a white longitudinal line, being named iomote uilikade, (chief flageolet), and played by the chief. A resonator made from a bamboo trunk furnished at the lower end with a hollowed-out gourd usually accompanies them (duonde, bl). The flageolets are called "male" and the resonators "female." Quite curiously, these flageolets are called iomote (bl/2) and iamaka (c), by the central, northern and southern groups, that is from the same term (iamaka) by which the Pareisi name the same instrument, while the eastern groups, who are the only immediate neighbors of the Pareisi, employ a completely different term: kajgetasu (a 1/2). The Indians describe these festivals thus:

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45. ukuertige ajdnige iuarhaidne ungtrage (haidone) ajnsurgerage
to hide to blow to play [the flageolet] to make merry fishing.

nahundage tatige nipattaharige kade kade kade ka ajtendige
to carry to roast to make chicha moon moon moon this moon
to dance

ikuhoahindige mihadage komiegerage

and another time to play [the following month] more rain
everything is dry

[105]

m¹adage tutshahakuitige

the rain is finished let [the flutes?] be carried away

hajtendige halehaidnige deno horatige ejeteende

to make the field feast the women are hidden they do not
see it

When rains come, the Nambicwara settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catinal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood planks. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The Nambicwara cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The Nambicwara have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The Nambicwara, like the Siriono, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, center, left). Each individual family builds its own

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix I indicates.²

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiariti and Vilhena. At Utiariti the altitude is 443 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwakiru*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combard beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wakiru*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadéwusu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *pu'owodjéu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dáru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *owéru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *drupadéu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
621 has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

$\frac{1}{2}$ [i.e., A fish
poison - A.] [p. 87 (B)] $\frac{2}{2}$ [See cat. #6,
pp. 124-126.
- Analyst]

- 323 The Waklitiu do not make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Pareud in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

- 621 Today, at least, the Waklitiu band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utariaty a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following and carrying a burden basket on her back and a baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
- 594 222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
- 226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length. These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten without being cleaned. Small birds no larger than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a burst stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.
- 224 224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact

223 vana, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the ridicule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

● 226 As the Nambicuará hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacó or matrinchá to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuará claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cut-offs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*tié*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tondra*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

- 226 Xingó, the Nambicuará timbó fishing appears very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked. [252] Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nambicuará also claim that they fish at night with torches along the river banks. This method may [177] have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

- 241 The principal food crops grown by the Nambicuará are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrowroot, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton, tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and native names of these plants are listed in Appendix 1.¹ In more recent times they are known to produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The dependence upon food crops in relation to game, fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gauge. The statements of missionaries, however, appear to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide a year-round food supply and may actually play a minor role as compared with dependence upon noncultivated resources.

- [177] Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria" forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most of their hunting and collecting. The Waklitian band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we have said, lives in a single house while thus occupied. In the past the field (*loftu*) was cleared with a stone ax (*stánu*) and a wooden club (*akubánu*). Today steel axes and machetes are used, but the method of planting is still the same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the statement that in the past when a new field had to be cleared the people had to work during most of the wet season in order to fell the trees, a task which they now perform in May and June.

- Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten down with the wooden club. The Nambicuará had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small trees part way through, then selected a number of large trees as kingpins. When these large trees were felled they knocked down the smaller trees below them. This was continued until they had a circular clearing of the required size on the slope. 241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

¹ [Cat. 116 pp. 124-126. - [p. 90 (B)]]

4: Obere

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(1949) 1953

SP17 Numbukuma SP17

411
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211
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286
301



Figure 1. - Numbukuma river activities. a. Fish catching. b. Spear making. c. Spear making. d. Spear making.

[P.136 (H)]

226 Tephrosia toxicaria is a poisonous legume, a kind of tingui
824 [Lupinus cascavella] used in fishing.

278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full
page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with
the stem of the titara liana (Desmoncus sp.).

262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--Guaiaatú: white maize.

--Urinodzu: manioc dough, which under microscopic examina-
tion proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated,
is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the caaru. (1) The grater

252
[11:5]

1. [Helolisa Alberto Torres notes
that the cylindrical tube used to
press manioc by some Amazonian
tribes must have spread from the
Guianas to the valley of the Amazon.
Métraux considers the woven band
used for the same purpose and found
on the periphery of the tube terri-
tory a more primitive form. The
simple straw cord of the Nambi-
cuara would thus constitute an even
more primitive variant.]

is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of
a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262

--The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--Katunuzú: anthill clay, which they also eat.

[628]

--A mushroom, orelha de pau (Polyporus sp.), which is eaten,
and beans (Phaseolus sp.) of unusual aspect were also found in one vil-
lage. [278] The smoked [moqueada] head of a great anteater was

[251]

found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415

Mortars (nutêze) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to

252 pound meat and other foods.